

THE
BASES OF AN ENDURING
AMERICAN PEACE

and

PLANNING THE FUTURE
AMERICA

By

HENRY A. WISE WOOD



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**PLANNING THE FUTURE
AMERICA**

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THE BASES OF AN ENDURING AMERICAN PEACE

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HENRY A. WISE WOOD

NOW that the world is plastic and we are the most courted among nations, a wise precaution would seem to dictate that we utilize our favored position to surround ourselves with durable safeguards of peace.

An analysis of our situation reveals sources of possible danger which it should be our aim to render innocuous. The Monroe Doctrine may be challenged from the East, it may be challenged from the West, or from both directions at the same time. The Canal may be invested by sea, and be taken by forces landed in its vicinity. Our West Coast Asiatic legislation may bring us into a conflict in which Alaska and Southern California will suffer, and the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands be lost.

It is practicable at the present time, I believe, for us to erect effective diplomatic barriers against all of these dangers, barriers which if neglected now it may not again in our lifetimes be possible for us to set up.

In August, 1823, Canning, for Great Britain, wrote as follows to Rush, the American minister, concerning the then recently revolted Spanish colonies in America:

"We aim not at the possession of any portion of them ourselves. We could not see any portion of them transferred to any other power with indifference. If these opinions and feelings are, as I firmly believe them to be, common to your Government with ours, why should we hesitate mutually to confide them to each other, and to declare them in the face of the world? If there be any European power which cherishes other projects, which looks to a

forcible enterprise for reducing the colonies to subjection, on behalf or in the name of Spain, or which meditates the acquisition of any part of them to itself, by cession or by conquest, such a declaration on the part of your Government and ours would be at once the most effectual and the least offensive mode of intimating our joint disapprobation of such projects. * * * Do you conceive that, under the power which you have recently received, you are authorized to enter into negotiation, and to sign any convention upon the subject? Do you conceive, if that be within your competence, you could exchange with me ministerial notes upon it? Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to join with you in such a work, and I am persuaded that seldom, in the history of the world, occurred an opportunity when so small an effort of two friendly Governments might produce so unequivocal a good, and prevent such extensive calamities."

To this Rush replied:

"Making these remarks, I believe I may confidently say that the sentiments unfolded in your note are fully those which belong also to my Government. * * * It does not aim at the possession of any portion of those communities for or on behalf of the United States. It would regard as highly unjust and fruitful of disastrous consequences any attempt on the part of any European power to take possession of them by conquest or by cession, or any ground or pretext whatever."

Four months later, on December 2, 1823, President Monroe enunciated the Monroe Doctrine. Upon the announcement abroad of this momentous decision by the United States, Lord Brougham declared:

"The question with regard to South America is now disposed of, or nearly so, for an event has recently happened than which no event has dispensed greater joy, exultation, and gratitude over

all the freemen of Europe; that event, which is decisive on the subject in respect to South America, is the message of the president of the United States to Congress."

While the Monroe Doctrine has since been little more than a declaration of intention, Great Britain has been its consistent friend, and no other nation has undertaken seriously to challenge it. Nevertheless the occasion has arrived when we should seek to obtain, at this time from our allies, formal recognition of its validity. Were France, Italy, Russia, and Japan now formally to acknowledge its validity, a long stride would have been taken towards the inclusion with them of the German and Austrian Empires at the conclusion of peace.

In the case of Great Britain our common interests and inclinations indicate a more far-reaching arrangement, with respect to the protection of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and of our respective possessions in the Pacific. We can well afford to underwrite the security of the British possessions in this Hemisphere in exchange for Great Britain's undertaking to assist us, if necessary, in the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. And we can do ourselves, and the other Anglo-Saxon peoples of the Pacific, no greater service than by undertaking to assist Great Britain in the protection of her possessions in that ocean, in exchange for her assistance to be rendered us in the protection of our own possessions lying therein.

Were such an arrangement with Great Britain to be consummated anxieties with respect to overseas invasion would disappear from the Latins and Anglo-Saxons of our own Hemisphere, and the Anglo-Saxons who are settled about and within the basin of the Pacific.

Coming now to matters which, though of lesser magnitude, are important in the scheme of our defenses, there are two which demand prompt consideration. The first affects the security of the Panama Canal, concerning the military and commercial value of which to our country no American needs to be informed. At present the Zone must depend for its defense upon, first, our fleets, and second, its contained garrison. Our fleets having been defeated, and the Canal invested by a transported army working towards it

from the sides, we would be powerless to prevent its capture. Between ourselves and the Zone there is no proper means of overland transport.

It is unthinkable that we should permit so invaluable a national asset as the Canal to be so inadequately assured against seizure or destruction. Of the projected Pan-American Railway there has still to be completed between the United States and the Canal Zone approximately only 550 miles. The prompt completion of this railway by American capital should be immediately undertaken as a defensive measure, and the American Government, by means of liberal subventions, should effect arrangements with the countries through which it passes, under which we shall be permitted to transport troops and supplies in the event of war between the United States and a nation foreign to the Western Hemisphere.

The second lesser matter deserving immediate attention concerns the peninsula of Lower California. This tongue of land projects downwardly from the United States like a human vermiform appendix, and like the latter, is an extremely dangerous appanage. Behind it, within its inaccessible interior, and along its Pacific Coast, are many hiding places which may, upon uncomfortable occasion, become points of infection endangering our contiguous territory.

Lower California is so remote from the Mexican mainland, is so slimly attached to it, and so inaccessible from it, that neither in times of peace nor of war can the Mexican Government assure its not being made a base for hostilities against us. The Mexican Government has but little intercourse with this peninsula, and draws from it only a small, if any, revenue. It is possible, therefore, that the Mexican Government would be inclined to consider the sale of Lower California to the United States, in exchange for the moneys so urgently needed by it for the rehabilitation of Mexico.

The United States would be well advised did it add to its long list of fortunate purchases this easily-to-be-made-fertile pendant of contiguous territory, and thus foreclose possible untoward eventualities.

Our diplomatic duties of the moment demand of us the most skilful employment of the opportunities which lie open to our hand, in order that we may insure ourselves and our neighbors an enduring peace.

PLANNING THE FUTURE AMERICA

By

HENRY A. WISE WOOD

ONE of the chief faults of our happy-go-lucky America is its complete absorption in affairs of the moment. It lives wholly in the present, thinking little of its past, and not at all of its future.

A huge, good-humored, industrious but untrained multitude, it wanders contentedly along without thought of a destination. Having neither a consummate leader, nor a chart, nor a goal, its pain and its pleasure are almost the sole directors of its course.

If things go well, it believes itself to be upon the right path; if they go ill, its members rush hither and thither in pained confusion until a more comfortable path is found, when it moves off along that course with no eventual objective in view.

When the guiding force of a people is compounded of the thought of all its members, that people must necessarily move and develop by a succession of loosely related experimental steps. A people must grope or be led. Democracies usually grope, with occasional periods during which, having fallen under the influence of men of foresight and strength, they are directed along preconceived routes towards clearly defined objectives.

There are times when a people have become so preoccupied by their local affairs that they are deaf to suggestion, however beneficial, which calls for a change of thought and action. In such a state of inertia were the American people at the beginning of the present war, and until the aggressions of Germany grew to be intolerable.

There are other times when a people, having been aroused out of intellectual lethargy into a state of acute cerebration, are mentally mobile and may easily be led into new paths,

if those paths meet with their approbation. In such a state of intellectual fluidity are the American people at the present time.

A critical moment, therefore, in the life of the nation is at hand, a moment during which the nation will change its mind; during which it will abandon old and embrace new purposes, and choose a new pathway into the future.

This then is the opportunity of the dreamer of dreams, of the man of vision who believes he can serve his country by pointing out to it the highway to a great national destiny. To such a man time is as nothing, obstacles are as nothing, and the labor and sweat and pain of the builders are as nothing. To him the goal, the goal only, is reality. That end achieved, he knows the memories of the struggle will grow golden, and these become the traditional glories of the nation.

Need an American be ashamed to confess that he wishes his country to become the great empire of the twentieth century, democracy's greatest empire? That he covets for it a power great as was that of Rome, beneficent as is that of the British Empire, youthful, creative, and altruistic as is that of buoyant America? That he believes this end may be achieved, not at the cost of his nation's friends among peoples, but at their gain, by rendering the world such service as the world never has had,

In the United States we have the largest group of educated members of the white race to be found anywhere in the world. They constitute the only great two-ocean nation and are astride the temperate zone; they are industrious, ingenious, and enterprising. They possess an aptitude for the farm, the forest, and the mine, the laboratory, the factory, and the sea, and occupy a territory rich in every natural resource. They are peace loving and benevolent.

What shall such a people do with their future? Shall they permit it to develop haphazard; shall they advance without plan or direction to an unforeseen destination? Shall they not, instead, determine their future, make of it a carefully thought out enterprise, and create and organize the means necessary for its accomplishment, as a definite national undertaking?

Being among those who believe that the future should be the result of design, not of chance, I make bold to point out

what in some respects I believe to be America's future place among nations.

America has long been one of the world's greatest producers of foods and raw materials. This advantage we must not surrender; we must not permit our growing industries and increasing tendency towards urban life to lead us to curtail our output of natural products. On the contrary, we must strive, by better methods of cultivation, conservation, replenishment, and working, to increase vastly the output of our natural substances, and to reduce their cost in the world's markets.

Having at hand the necessary raw materials, a populace unequalled in ingenuity, of high technical skill in the arts and easily taught new processes of manufacture; having a home market so vast that standardization becomes possible to an extent not possible elsewhere, and having the largest accumulations of free capital, there lacks nothing but the skillful undertaking of the project to make of our country the foremost workshop of the world.

This we may easily do if we but set our industrial house in order, if we but hasten to learn and apply to our needs the lessons of class co-operation that the warring nations are teaching us, and turn our government into a great industrial warder and schoolmaster. The industrial armies of the other peoples have been drained by the war, and for more than a generation will be without the vigor that once was theirs. We shall be required to supplement their efforts, and supply to their own peoples and to the other peoples who have depended upon them that which they no longer will be capable of producing. Do we but grasp these, our opportunities, we shall become the world's foremost manufacturing nation.

We must recover our maritime supremacy, and become the world's chief sea carrier. Once again must the American flag be the flag oftenest seen upon the waters of the earth. During the year 1914 only 9.8 per cent. of our foreign trade was carried in American bottoms; in 1830 it was 90.3 per cent. It is inconceivable that we should not instantly abandon the policies which have been making for our maritime suicide, and adopt others which will restore to us our birthright of sea use, which we have so recklessly tossed into the laps of other nations. The sea strength of Germany,

against which we must now lavishly build in self-defense, was largely paid for by ourselves.

Germany's profits upon the sea carriage of our own goods and people have built her merchant fleets, have helped to develop her shipyards, and have gone far towards the creation of her only-second-to-Great Britain naval power. We are now rendering a similar service for Japan. To carry our own exports, imports, and passengers, whether in the Atlantic or Pacific, must henceforth be our inexorable purpose. American ships for Americans and their goods, this must be our slogan.

In order to become the world's foremost manufacturers and merchants, we must become the world's chief bankers. Where foreign enterprises may borrow, there will they trade. The American banker and American salesman must go abroad hand in hand. We must assist and encourage them as the pioneers of the new world-drawn industrial life into the enjoyment of which America is about to enter.

The nation's surplus capital must be set to work for the nation wherever, beyond the sea, good returns in interest and trade are forthcoming. And selected youth must be especially trained for the handling of America's banking and commercial interests abroad, trained in the languages, manners and customs, tastes and prejudices, of all foreign peoples. For this work there should be created a great national institution, subsidized by the Government, with training field stations in all countries. Such an institution could provide us also with consuls, so that trained Americans should replace our untrained consuls—many of whom are of foreign citizenship and their loyalty not always to be depended upon. Thus we shall be made able to satisfy at our profit the needs of all nations, and draw an ever-increasing income from the industry of other peoples.

In planning the future it must not be overlooked that security is an essential condition of over-world trade, the security of the individual American, and of his property. Unless the pioneers of American commerce be safe in life, money, and goods, their enterprises are but houses of straw, subject to the cupidity or passion of those in whose midst they are.

Under insecure conditions American over-world trade can neither take firm root nor prosper. Therefore, if we wish to

found a great world-serving industrial democracy, we must lay down and inexorably maintain the principle that wherever an American happens rightfully to be there his Government will insist upon the security of his life and property. The injury of an American upon the high seas or abroad must once more become the concern of all our people, and be resented by all our people with all their might.

We must accept and vigorously act upon the age-old saying: *Fast bind, safe find*. We now see that no nation can carry the commerce of the world in one hand and an empty blunderbuss in the other. That commerce can no more be safeguarded by treaties than can a treasure by a copy of the eighth commandment pasted upon the door of the vault which holds it. We now know that no one but the well-intentioned respects treaty or commandment; that the ill-intentioned respects only superior power. We therefore must hold superior power. We must be respected not only because of our intellectual and material usefulness to our neighbor nations, but also because of our ability, our readiness, and our determination, everywhere and upon every occasion, to support with force, if need be, the rights even of the humblest of our people, be those rights assailed by a nation little or big. The aegis of America must protect the American, as did that of Rome the Roman. Upon no other terms can a nation win either the respect or the trade of the world. We must have both.

